8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ 1
K KN 204

Table 14

PROPORTION OF KAZAKH-LANGUAGE PAPERS

Year	Total Number of Papers	Kazakh-Language Papers	Kazakh-Language Proportion of Total (%)
1937[a]	345	163	47
1940[b]	220	126	57
1947[c]	266	139	52
1952[d]	257	135[e]	53

[a] *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo.*
[b] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 40.
[c] *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[d] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[e] An estimate based on a language distribution in the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, for district-level papers. Of 213 such papers, 117 were Kazakh, 91 Russian, 3 Uigur, and 2 Uzbek. It was assumed that each of the 16 regions publishes a Kazakh paper as well as a Russian, and that there is at least one city-level and one republic Kazakh-language paper.

Whereas quantitative information on the circulation of Kazakh-language papers is conveniently omitted from the 1952 edition of the standard Soviet encyclopedia (Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia), the same source cites as an achievement the figures for the largest Kazakh monthlies: Pioneer, 10,000; Kommunist, 7,000; and The People's Teacher (Narodnyi uchitel'), 5,000. All of these periodicals as well as 90 per cent of all books produced in the Kazakh Republic are printed in Alma-Ata.

K KN 214

In 1937, according to a specialized Soviet source, more than 85 per cent of the books published in Kazakhstan were printed in the capital, Alma-Ata.[1] In that year 5,300,000 volumes were published in the republic, of which almost 90 per cent were written in the Kazakh language;[2] most of the non-Kazakh books were in Russian. The 4,700,000 volumes in the Kazakh language included 252 titles,[3] which represents a mean edition figure of 18,600, surprisingly high for a minority language. By subject matter, most KSSR books fell into one of these four categories:[4] (1) belles-lettres (26%), (2) politics, law, and "socialist construction" (18%), (3) mathematics and physical sciences (14%), and (4) linguistics and philology (12%).

The war had a devastating effect on the book publishing trade in the Soviet Union. The total number of volumes published was 20 per cent smaller in 1947 than in 1937 (see Table 15). Within the Kazakh republic, however, the number of volumes published actually increased by 30 per cent during that period. Accompanying this increase in production was a significant change in the ratio of native- to nonnative-language publications (see Table 16). The number of books published in the Kazakh language was cut almost in half, while the number of publications in

[1] *Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[2] *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[3] *Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[4] *Ibid.*

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

other languages (chiefly Russian) increased by five times the 1937 figure. The same change in the relative numbers of native-language and Russian-language titles occurred in Uzbekistan, although not to such an extreme degree.[1]

Table 15

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE USSR AND SELECTED REPUBLICS, 1937 AND 1947*

Area	1937	1947
USSR	674,000,000	541,000,000
RSFSR	549,000,000	439,000,000
UzSSR	11,600,000	6,800,000
KSSR	5,300,000	6,400,000

*Compiled from Tables 3 and 4 of the standard volume, *The Soviet Press in Figures (Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh)*.

Table 16

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN KSSR AND UzSSR BY LANGUAGE OF PUBLICATION

Year	Kazakhstan		Uzbekistan	
	Kazakh Language	Other Languages	Uzbek Language	Other Languages
1937[a]	4,700,000	600,000	9,900,000	1,700,000
1938[b]	6,200,000	1,400,000	ND	ND
1947[a]	3,400,000	3,000,000	4,700,000	2,100,000

[a]Figures from Tables 4 and 5 of *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*.
[b]Figures from *Tsifry o pechati SSSR*.
ND: No data available.

The literary production of Kazakhstan in 1937 was given as 322 titles, of which 182 were original works and 140 were translations. (The parallel figures for Uzbekistan were 498 titles, 310 originals and 188 translations.)[2] It may be assumed that again most titles fell into the belles-lettres category. In some Soviet statistics this category is further subdivided into prose, drama, and poetry. No detailed data are available for the postwar period, but in 1937 Kazakh literary production was similar in respect to these subcategories to the total USSR "non-Russian language" production.

[1]These data lend themselves to a dual interpretation. One might say that although the native population had probably grown in size and certainly in relative literacy in these 10 years, it was being given less reading material than before the war. The Kazakhs could not turn to any books published in their language elsewhere in the USSR, since such production (if any) would be negligible. On the other hand, the 1947 ratio of native to nonnative publications corresponds more closely to the actual ethnic composition of the population.
[2]Table 6 in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

K
KN
214
538

Of the belles-lettres publications in the USSR during the 1938-1947 decade, 16,400,000 titles were in the Russian language and 9,000,000 titles were in non-Russian languages. Prose works constituted almost 60 per cent of the Russian titles, only 36 per cent of the non-Russian. Corresponding figures for drama were 11 per cent and 8 per cent, for poetry 23 per cent and 46 per cent, and for other works 7 and 10 per cent, respectively.[1]

Almost half of the belles-lettres publications in the minority languages were poetry; the corresponding proportion of the Russian works was less than a fourth. The popularity among these people of poetry as an art form, and the significance of this finding for psychological warfare against Soviet minorities, seem fairly evident.

KN
207
[016]

Radio

Despite the claims of Party leaders, many people within the Soviet Union read very poorly. In a target audience where such is the case, the spoken word is a more effective means of communication. The standard medium of mass communication by the less-demanding spoken word is radio.

To the American observer it may seem that radio in the USSR plays but a minor role in comparison to the position this medium has achieved in the United States. Such a situation is certainly not due to official Soviet policy. The Russians are keenly aware of their need for more widespread utilization of the radio; this need is reflected in the Soviet term radiofikatsiia ("radiofication").

Organizationally, the Soviet radio system differs from the networks found in the United States or from the internal operation of the BBC in Great Britain in two major ways: (1) the extensive use of short waves in internal broadcasting (from roughly 75 meters or 40 KC down) and (2) the networks of wired speakers.

Short-wave broadcasting in local and relatively short-range traffic is popular in Latin America. If one may judge from the specifications of new Soviet receivers (published regularly in the periodical Radio'), the short-wave bands will play an even larger role in the Soviet Union in the future. Some indication of the relative importance of such broadcasts for the Kazakh SSR may be inferred from the distribution of transmitters. The CIA list of "Broadcasting Stations of the World" shows as of September 1952 a total of 12 transmitters operating in the KSSR, of which 10 are in the short-wave bands.[2]

A more strikingly Soviet phenomenon is the radio-diffusion exchange, radio-translatsionnii uzel,[3] with its wired speakers, radiotochki. These speakers are found in homes of subscribers as well as in public places

[1] Table 33 in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*, 1948.

[2] Particularly interesting in this respect is the article "Standards for Radio Receivers," *Radio*, 1951, No. 9, pp. 11-13.

[3] The other two transmitters operated out of Alma-Ata (1103 meters, 10 kw) and Karaganda (412 meters, 20 kw). Eight of the short wave transmitters were based at Alma-Ata, the others at Guryev and Taldy-Kurgan.

[4] Also called *radiouzel* or *translatsionnii uzel*.

53
177 also what Moscow deems proper to see developing in the provinces. The architecture which is encouraged in Moscow is only part of the
[341] climate of cultural taste. Public buildings in Alma-Ata reflect both Russian 19th century Baroque and Central Asiatic architectural themes: Russian columns and massiveness, Central Asiatic arches and blue tile ornament. Soviet architects have taken basic ideas from Russian contemporary architecture and to them added local ideas. Whether these hybrids are suited to local conditions of weather, availability of materials, and so forth, is another matter.

"Nationalist in form, socialist in content" was a much-publicized slogan 20 years ago; but it is seldom mentioned today. One can easily discuss Soviet art or architecture without reference to this formula; it no longer has even a covert role to play. The modern slogan might read "Soviet in basic form, local style in ornament."

668 This trend is evident in other forms of expression as well. Let us consider the topic of heroes. In the historical tradition, the Kazakh revival was centered around heroes of the past such as Kenesary Kasymov. This is not in keeping with the sense of heroism which the Kremlin seeks to instill in the Kazakhs. During the 1920's and 1930's, Moscow permitted only such heroes as Frunze and Chapayev, who fought the civil war in the steppes of Central Asia. To these has been added the figure of Amangeldy, a Kazakh who was an early member of the Bolshevik party. The revival of 19th century Kazakh heroes in the 1940's took place under conditions of wartime desperation. Moscow was anxious to sound any note that might awaken the feelings of the Kazakhs, to let any theme be pursued. The Soviets sought to show that the Russian revolutionaries in fighting the Tsars had advanced the same cause as had Kenesary, and that the Kazakhs and the Bolsheviks should therefore make common cause.

During World War II the possible selection of heroes expanded to include not only military and political leaders of the past, but literary
[538] and scientific figures as well. Abai Kunanbaev, a 19th century Kazakh poet, has been much publicized in novels, plays, movies, and literary essays. He is acceptable to the Russians, for he was the translator into Kazakh of Russian poetry. Moreover, he was a friend of anti-Tsarist Russians, among them Chernyshevsky, a novelist and revolutionary exile. Chokan Valikhanov, although a Kazakh, was an officer of the Tsars, educated in St. Petersburg University, a member of
[814] leading artistic and intellectual circles, and author of historical and ethnographic notes on the Kazakh past. He has been no less honored than Abai or Kenesary. Altynsarin, perhaps the greatest Kazakh intellectual, an educator, publicist, editor, ethnographer, and creator of a Kazakh alphabet, was likewise given a pre-eminent place in the Kazakh revival.

[214] In the 1940's a Kazakh literary and artistic journal Adabiet zhane
[538] iskusstvo ("Literature and Art") was started. Adabiet is a Kazakh word meaning literature, iskusstvo a Russian word meaning art; the title thus expresses the mixed character of contemporary Kazakh arts and literature. It can hardly be said that the journal is a success. It has been attacked for deviations from the political line, as might have been

expected. In addition to being ideologically weak, from Moscow's viewpoint, it has been criticized for appearing irregularly. And above all, thousands of copies are left unsold.[1] In a word, it does not suit the aims of the Soviet regime, nor does it satisfy the needs of the Kazakhs.

At the beginning of the revival, in the early 1940's, an attempt was made to purify the Kazakh language of Russianisms, or failing that, to apply Kazakh orthographic rules to borrowed Russian words. The leading Kazakh novelist, Mukhtar Auezov, wrote a novel on the life of Abai Kunanbaev, in which he attempted to adapt the spelling of Russian words to the Kazakh language. This adaptation is most important in poetry, because the stress or accent in Kazakh falls only on the last syllable, while in Russian, as in English, it may fall on any syllable. Auezov was severely criticized for this "error" by a philologist who asserted that Abai himself retained Russian words in their original form when there was no Kazakh equivalent. Auezov admitted his errors and agreed to purge from his language Kazakh treatment of Russian words.[2] The whole controversy is specious, for Kazakh orthography had not been standardized in the 19th century, when Abai was composing, and is not standardized today. Abai had no standard orthography to impose upon the Russian, and therefore retained the original. Auezov's Kazakhization of the Russian is not so much a scientific achievement as a cultural expression, an attempt to formulate a Kazakh spelling style as part of a literary program in the context of a revival of traditional Kazakh culture.

Auezov himself presided over one Kazakh attack on another expression of their culture. In an article, "Considerations on the Novel," Auezov criticized a novel by another Kazakh, Mustafin, for its lack of local dialect terms and colloquialisms, its failure to reflect the folklore and the speech of Kazakh village life. But then he added, "In Mustafin's novel, the new president of the collective farm . . . accomplishes miracles in ten months. All goes as though by the flash of a magic wand . . . One detects here the influence of outmoded traditions of folklore whose heroes easily and carelessly cross over seas of fire, find a way through impassable forests and fly across immeasurable spaces upon the magical bird Zemurg."[3] Auezov cannot have it both ways. He criticizes Mustafin for lack of contact with the people and then attacks him for coming under the influence of "outmoded" folklore traditions.

Soviet influence has been responsible for several changes in Kazakh literature. The traditional Kazakh mode of literary expression was poetry. The novel did not exist in Kazakhstan until the advent of the Russians. Today there are a number of novelists, such as Mukhtar Auezov and Sabit Mukanov. Both of them started out as poets, and only later adopted the novel as a literary form.

The aim of Soviet writing, in theory, is to achieve "socialist realism." There should be no romanticizing, no formalism or the quest of form for

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 12 Nov 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3 Sep 52.
[3] Auezov (4), 1951.